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Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver, and Copper.—By Major General A. CUNNINGHAM, C. S. I., C. I. E., Director General Archæological Survey.

(With nine Plates.)

In the year 1877, on the north bank of the Oxus, near the town of Takht-i-Kuwât, opposite Khulm and two days' journey from Kunduz, there was found a large treasure of gold and silver figures, ornaments and coins, most of which have been brought to India for sale. The site is also called Kawat and Kawadian, and I have no doubt that it is the Kobadian. The finders quarrelled about the division of the spoil, and several of the larger objects were cut to pieces for the sake of a ready settlement of accounts on the spot. Two of the most interesting objects, a horseman and a chariot, both of gold, were presented to Lord Lytton by Sir Louis Cavagnari. Most, if not all, of the remaining objects of the first find have come into my possession. The coins have been scattered. Several have gone to the British Museum, and many have passed into the hands of various collectors; but a large number have come to Mr. A. Grant and myself. I believe that I have *seen* most of them, as both dealers and owners have sent to me either the coins themselves or impressions of them for identification. The coins, so far as I have seen of them, range over a period of about three hundred years, from the time of Darius to that of Antiochus the Great and Euthydemus of Bactria. The gold and silver figures seem also to belong to different ages, as some are decidedly very archaic; more particularly the small statuette of a king in silver, which I think may be as old as the time of Darius.

It is perhaps rather bold to speculate as to how this large treasure came to be hidden. It was not found all in one spot ; but scattered about in the sands of the river. One may therefore conjecture that it may have been concealed in the bank either in wooden boxes, or in vessels of earthenware, which fell to pieces when the swollen stream cut away the bank and scattered their contents over the sands.

If I am right as to the age of the latest coins, the treasure must have been buried about the time of Antiochus the Great and his contemporary Euthydemus of Bactria, as not even a single specimen of either Demetrius or Eukratides has yet turned up. Now we know that Bactria was invaded by Antiochus in B. C. 208. Euthydemus took up a position near Tagouria with an advanced post on the River Arius defended by ten thousand cavalry. In the battle which followed, Euthydemus was defeated, and being disheartened he “retreated to Zariaspa, a city of Bactriana, with all his army.” I quote the following from my account of this campaign in the Numismatic Chronicle.

“In marching from Hyrkania to Bactria, Antiochus must have followed the high road along the valley of Meshed to the fort of Muzdarân, which stands on an isolated spur of table-land at the entrance of the Darband Pass.* This is the place which I suppose that Antiochus was besieging when he heard that Euthydemus was encamped at Tagouria, only three days’ march distant, and that a body of cavalry was prepared to dispute the passage of the Arius River. Antiochus at once raised the siege, and resolved to cross the river, and advance against the enemy. For the first two days he moved slowly, but on the evening of the third day, leaving the main body behind, he made a forced march with all his cavalry and light-armed troops. As the country was level, and easy for the march of cavalry, he reached the banks of the River Arius and crossed it before dawn. Now the road through the Darband Pass leads direct upon the town of Sarakhs, which lies to the east of the Tejend, or Arius River, at forty-five miles distance from Muzdarân. The nature of this road also corresponds exactly with the account of Polybius ; as Burnes describes the route for the eighteen miles to the south-west of Sarakhs, as lying “over a level country, broken in some places by gravelly hillocks.”† Sarakhs itself must therefore be the city to which the Bactrian cavalry retired at night ; and Tagouria, where Euthydemus was encamped, may be looked for somewhere along the line of the Murghâb, or Margus River, in the neighbourhood of Maru-ur-Rûd, or Alexandria Margiane.”

“Wilson thinks that Euthydemus showed little courage or conduct‡ in retiring at once so far back as Balkh, and he therefore infers that Zarias-

* Burnes’ Travels, iii, 59.

† Burnes’ Travels, iii, 58.

‡ Ariana Antiqua, p. 221, note.

pa should rather be in the situation of Maru and Andkoh. But the identification of Zariaspa with Bactria or Balkh seems to me to be too well established by the direct testimony of Ptolemy, as well as by the coincidence of its name with Azergashasp or Azerasp, the famous fire-temple of Balkh, to be set aside by any reasoning founded on mere opinion. I disagree also with Wilson in thinking that Euthydemus would have shown good judgment in retiring upon Maru; for Maru stands on the edge of the desert, so that his further retreat would have been cut off, and he would have been compelled either to fight or to submit, and in such a position a defeat would have been fatal. By retiring upon Balkh there were two lines of retreat open to him; either northward into the mountains of Sogdiana, or eastward up the valley of the Oxus. By taking up this commanding position in front of his capital, Euthydemus forced his antagonist to come to terms."

Zariaspa has been generally accepted as only another name for the old capital of Balkh, which was derived from its famous fire-temple of Azergashasp, or Azer-i-asp. I conclude that the treasure may have been hidden shortly before the defeat of Euthydemus, by some one who went to join the army on the Arius River and did not return to recover it. And there it has lain on the bank of the Oxus for upwards of two thousand years, whilst Parthians and Scythians, Sassanians and Arabs, Turks and Mughals have in turn swept over the country and crossed the river within a few miles of the hidden treasure.

I have arranged the principal objects of this curious discovery in six Plates according to their subjects, followed by two Plates of coins, and a single Plate of bronze objects from Sistân, or Drangiâna, which also formed a part of the Ancient Persian empire of the Achæmenidæ. Before discussing the varieties of dress and arms and ornaments brought to light in these curious relics, I think it best to give a brief description of the objects represented in the different Plates.

Plate XI. *Royal Statuette.* Solid silver, full size, weight 5,794 grains. In my own possession. The figure is represented in two views, both front and back. The upper part of the dress is bordered with broad bands of gold ornament let into the silver, with a similar gold band down the front of the long tunic. The diadem is fastened near the top of the head dress or tiara, with its broad ends hanging conspicuously at the back of the head.

Plate XII. *Royal Figures.* Thin gold, full size, weight 84 grains. Author.

No. 1. Standing figure with crown on head, right hand up-raised and left hand carrying a flower. Author.

No. 2. Gold Ring, weighing 272 grains. Author. Crowned figure of king seated on a chair—holding a bird on his right hand and a flower in his left.

No. 3. Double Daric, gold. Author. The type is the same as that which is so well known on the single Darics. The king, crowned and resting on his right, knee carries a bow in his outstretched left hand, and an arrow in his right.

No. 4. Silver coin. Author. This rare coin is of the same type as the gold Darics and silver Darics, but its weight is only two-thirds of that of the silver Daric or *Siglos*. This proves that the silver *Siglos* was divided into six parts, which as I will hereafter show were called *danaké*, in Greek *δανάκη*.

No. 5. Silver coin. Author. The king crowned and kneeling as on the coin just described. In his left hand the usual bow, and in his right a long spear, with a heavy knob at the end. In the field the Greek letters Δ H.

No. 6. Large silver coin, weighing $407\frac{3}{4}$ grains. Author. Archaic type; crowned king in chariot drawn by four horses.

No. 7. Large silver coin weighing 400 grains. Author. Similar types.

I have seen four specimens of the former, and six of the latter type, brought from the Oxus find. These coins are usually named Persian octodrachms, but I believe that they should rather be called Pentasiglons, or Quarter Darics, as I will show hereafter. I have placed them here for the purpose of illustrating the following figure.

No. 8. Gold; full size; king and driver in chariot. Weight 368 grains. Lord Lytton. Horse gold, 96 grains. Author.

In the plate the wheel has been added from that shown on the large silver coins. The driver in spite of his shortness is standing, while the tall king is sitting, with a spear in his hand, on a seat running from front to rear, and not across the chariot. The reins of thin gold wire still cling to the driver's hands, while a similar gold wire forms the head-gear of the horse. The figures are all hollow, having been formed in two pieces, and afterwards joined rather roughly.

I understand that a much larger chariot with wheels and horses complete, including also a king and a charioteer, was found last year and sent to England, where it was sold for a large sum. I was not allowed even to see it.

Plate XIII. *Statuettes.*

No. 1, front view, and No. 2, side view, of a gold figure, full size, weighing 1063 grains. Lord Lytton. The figure is nearly solid, and must have been originally mounted on horseback, as shown by the position of the legs and hands. I take it to be a royal personage partly from the embroidered tunic, and partly from the tall head-dress, which was peculiar to the kings of Persia.

No. 3, solid silver statuette, half size, weighing 28,282 grains, or nearly 59 ounces. Author. The figure is naked, with the exception of the head which is covered with a tall flat-sided cap, very like that of the rider shown in No. 1, but without the flaps.

No. 4, head of a horse nearly solid, in gold, full size, weighing 673 grains. Author. This statuette was entire when found; but the finders having quarrelled about the division of their treasure, the horse was cut in pieces with a chisel, some marks of which may be seen both on the neck and the cheek. It is said to have been nearly 6 inches long.

Nos. 5 and 6. Side and front views of the head dress of the last Râjâ of Ladâk, to illustrate the tall cap of the naked silver figure. The upper part of the cap was of black velvet, rimmed with a band of sky blue silk, embroidered with gold.

Plate XIV. *A Magus or Priest.*

Gold Plaque, full size, weighing 624 grains. Author. The figure will be described presently.

Plate XV. *Animals.*

No. 1. Winged bull, full size, weighing 134 grains. Author. At the back of the Plate there are several small eyelet holes for securing it to some back ground.

No. 2. Small eagle, full size, in solid gold, weighing 13 grains. Author.

No. 3. Small pigeon, full size, in hollow gold, weighing 24 grains. Author. This figure has small eyelet holes below.

No. 4. Small square gold plaque, full size, weighing 26 grains. Author. Figures of man and lion in archaic style.

No. 5. Gold ring, weighing 60 grains. Horse running to left. Author.

No. 6. Gold stag, full size, weighing 385 grains. Author. The stag had branching antlers, of which one is altogether gone, and the other broken off just above the lowermost tire. From some marks about the feet it would appear to have been fastened to a flat plate, like the sheep in the next figure.

No. 7. Gold sheep, full size, weighing 924 grains. Author. The figure is fixed to an oblong plate which is pierced with small holes all round the four sides for the purpose of securing it firmly, either by rivets to the crest of a metal helmet, or by sewing it to the top of a felt head-dress. Or, perhaps both the stag and the sheep may have been the crowning figures of military or royal standards.

No. 8. Gold fish, half size, weighing 5,687 grains or nearly 12 ounces. Author. This figure is $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, and was most probably the

crest of a royal standard, as the *Mâhi Marâtib* or "Fish standard" has come down even to our own times as one of the symbols of high position, if not of royal rank. Thus the king of Oudh had two fishes carved on the gateways of his palace, and also placed a fish on his coins. One of the privileges said to have been granted by Kutb-uddin, the first Muhammadan king, to the Hindu Princes was the right of hoisting the royal fish standard or *Mâhi Marâtib-kino*, as it is expressed in the books of Mukji the famous bard of the Khîchî Chauhâns.

Plate XVI. *Ornaments.*

No. 1. Earring of solid gold, full size, 48 grains. Author. The pin which passed from the back of the head to the feet has been lost. The execution of this little figure is much superior in finish to most of the other objects.

No. 2. Large finger ring in shape of a coiled snake, 176 grains. Author.

No. 3. Small finger ring of similar design, 77 grains. Author. Both of these rings are of pale gold.

No. 4. Gold belt clasp, full size, weighing 486 grains. Author. There are two flat loops at the back for the belt to pass through. The youthful male head, crowned with a chaplet of ivy leaves, stands out in very bold relief. It differs, however, in its workmanship from most of the other objects, having been beaten up from behind, instead of being cast in a mould. It is therefore a very ancient specimen of repousée work. I take the head to be that of *Dionysos Kissophoros*, or the "Ivy-crowned Dionysus," and that it must have been the work of some Oriental Greek about the time of Alexander the Great.

Bracelets.

All the specimens that I have seen were cut up by the finders, the plain middle pieces being consigned at once to the melting-pot, and only the ornamented ones kept for sale. The specimens in the Plate are all from my own collection.

No. 5. Gold bracelet, full size, ending in ram's head.

No. 6. ditto, full size, ending in dog's head (?)

No. 7. Spiral gold bracelet, full size, ending in lion's head. Some portions of the spiral coil being left attached to each end, I had the bracelet completed by a Simla goldsmith.

No. 8. Gold bracelet, full size, ending in lion's head.

No. 9. Gold bracelet, full size, ending in wild goat's head. The top view of the head is also shown, where it will be seen that the tips of the horns are made to join so as not to offer any points for catching in the dress.

No. 10. Gold bracelet, full size, ending in head of horned lion (?)
The top view of this bracelet is also given.

Torques or Collars.

No. 11. Two bull's heads in gold, set upright, full size.

No. 12. Lion's head in solid gold, full size, weighing 336 grains. All my enquiries have failed to discover the companion piece. When complete this collar must have weighed about seven ounces. I understand that it was cut into several small pieces.

Dress of the Ancient Persians.

The king was distinguished from all his subjects by wearing an upright head dress, called *Kidaris* or *Kitaris*, an oriental name which still survives in the Hebrew *Kether*. Curtius says "Cidarim Persæ regium capitis vocabant insigne." Plutarch also relates that Artaxerxes allowed his eldest son Darius, when he declared him his successor, to wear "the point of his *Kitaris* erect, as a mark of royalty." It was bound with a fillet called *Mitra*, which like the Greek *diadéma*, had the two ends hanging down behind the head. The Greek word itself was also introduced into Persia, most probably during the time of the Seleukidæ, and it still exists in Persian under the contracted form of *dehîm*, by the simple elision of the second *d*. All head dresses were called by the general name of *tiâra*, that of the king being distinguished by its upright form. Another term was *Kurbasia*, which would rather seem to be a foreign name, if, as I suppose, it contains the Tûrki word *bâsh*, or "head," the whole word meaning perhaps only "head covering."

A specimen of the upright *tiâra*, with the diadem is seen in the silver statuette in Plate XI. The same *tiâra* is apparently represented on the most ancient Persian coins, both of gold and silver, as seen on the different specimens in Plate II. But the head dress on the coins is almost invariably represented with a radiated crown on the top, which in figure 1 of Plate XII would seem almost to be separate from the *tiâra*, or head-dress proper. But perhaps the finest specimens of the *Kidaris*, or upright tiara, are seen on the larger silver coins of Tigranes king of Armenia, on which the tiara is formed with a radiated upper edge. The *Kidaris* itself was made of crimson cloth, with a diadem of sky blue spotted with a white star. So Curtius says "Cærulea fascia albo distincta circumibat." So also the tall cap mentioned above as worn by the Râjâ of Ladâk has a sky-blue border.

The common *tiâra* was a soft felt cap, called *pilos* by the Greeks; but it differed from the Greek *pilos* in having long lappets which could be tied under the chin.* This is the cap worn by the drivers in the chariots in Plate XII; by the Satrap Tiridames on No. 5 coin of Plate XVII; by the Magus in Plate XIV, and apparently also by the king himself when out riding

* This fact is specially referred to by Juvenal, VI, 516.

or hunting, as shown in Plate XIII. But the caps worn by the Magus and the king are tall, the former only differing from the royal cap in the upper part being pressed downwards and backwards. The Satrap head-dress with its side lappets is fully displayed on the beautiful coin of Pharnahazus published by the Duc de Luynes.*

The outer dress consisted of a sleeved tunic, a pair of light fitting trousers, and boots.

The tunic worn by all classes of Persians was a sleeved coat called *Kandus* or *Kanduké*, a name which appears to contain the Persian word *Kum*, or *Kam*, "a sleeve." It was also called *Sarâpis*, which may perhaps be only the Persian word *Sarâpâ* "from head to foot," and if so, this term would rather apply to the Median robe, which reached down to the ground, than to the later Persian tunic. According to some the *sarâpis* was a striped tunic of crimson and white, *purpureæ tunicæ medium album intextum*.† But judging from the coloured dress of Darius in the Pompeian Mosaic, and from the dress of the golden statuette horseman in Lord Lytton's possession, the main part of the tunic was of scarlet, with a broad band of white down the front, and narrow bands along the edges of the sleeves and of the skirts.

The Persian trousers were of two kinds, "loose" and "tight." The former were called *sarabâra* or *saraballa*, a name which is still in use as *sarâwil* and *sarawâl* for the very same garment. The light trousers were called *anaxurides*, in the plural. Xenophon calls them *ποικίλαι ἀναξίρουδες* which may mean either "embroidered" or "parti-coloured." The tight-fitting trousers or *anaxurides* are worn by Darius and most of the Persian chiefs, in the famous Pompeian mosaic representing the battle of Issus. They are also worn by the horseman in Plate XIII and by the seated Satrap Datames or Tiridames on the coin No. 5 of Plate XVII. I can find nothing about either their material or their colour, as I have not access to any coloured copy of the Pompeian mosaic.

The boots were of soft leather, and sometimes ended in long points, as seen in the gold statuette of Plate XII. But these long points were most probably confined to riding boots, as the king in Plate XI has square-toed boots, much like those of the present day, excepting only that they are highly ornamented.

Magus or Priest.

In Plate XIV we have a representation of the Magus or Priest as he stood in front of the fire altar for daily worship. The most minute account

* Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie sous les Rois Achéménides. Plate I, fig. 5.

† Curtius, Vit. Alexand. III. 3-7. The *medium intextum* agrees with the *μεσόλευκος* of the Greek writers. See also Xenoph., Cyrop. I. 3.2.

of the ancient Magi that has come down to us is that of Strabo, who had no doubt frequently witnessed the Magian worship. "The Persians" he says "have also certain large shrines, called *Pyrætheia*. In the middle of these is an altar, on which is a great quantity of ashes where the Magi maintain an unextinguished fire. They enter daily and continue their incantation for nearly an hour holding before the fire a bundle of rods, and wear round their heads high turbans of felt, reaching down on each side, so as to cover the lips and the sides of the cheeks." Here I think there must have been some mistake of the copyist, as Herodotus mentions that when all was ready, the Magus "chanted a hymn," which he could hardly do when his mouth was covered with the lappets of his head-dress.* The figure in Plate XIV certainly has his lips quite free. I think therefore that we might venture to change τὰ χεῖλεα the "lips" to τράχηλον the "throat." Strabo's description would then tally exactly with the representation of the Magus on the gold plate, having both his *throat* and the sides of his cheeks covered by the lappets of his head-dress. The dress of the Magus was white according to Diogenes Laertius,† but nothing is said about its ornamentation, which is conspicuous in the Plate, both on the shoulders and round the edges of the tunic, which reaches only to the knees. He has a short sword on his right side, and holds the *barsom*, or "holy wand of twigs," in his right hand before him.

Strabo describes the sacrifices of the Magi in another place, where he says that "they continue their incantations for a long time, holding in their hands a bundle of slender myrtle rods." But in neither place does he mention in which hand the Magus held the *barsom*, or wand of twigs. This omission is very unfortunate, as the Parsi priests of the present day hold the sacred wand in the left hand, in utter disagreement with the ancient custom as represented on the gold plate. At first I thought it possible that the artist might have made a blunder in placing both the *barsom* and the sword on the right. But I see that the Persian soldiers given in Rawlinson's ancient monarchies wear exactly the same short swords on the right side.‡ It is clear therefore that the present practice of the Parsis is an actual departure from the custom of the Magi of old.

In *Yasna* 57, as published by Haug, I find the following passage regarding the *barsom*, or holy wand of twigs.§ "He who first arranged the bundle of sacred twigs (*barsom*), that with 3, that with 5, that with 7, and that with 9 stalks, those which were so long as to go up to the knees,

* Herodot. I. 132. Curtius also speaks of the Magi singing, III. 3.7.

† Ἐσθῆς μὲν λευκῆ quoted by Rawlinson, *Anct. Monarchies*, Vol. II, 347-2nd edition.

‡ *Ancient Monarchies*, 2nd edition, Vol. III, pp. 172-174, 176.

§ Haug's *Essays*, by West, p. 189.

and those which went as far as the middle of the breast, (he arranged them) to worship, to praise, to satisfy and to extol the archangels.”

In his notes descriptive of Parsi ceremonies Haug gives the following detailed description of the holy wand. “The barsom consists of a number of slender rods or *tâi*, formerly twigs of some particular trees, but now thin metal wires are generally used. The number of these *tâi* depends upon the nature of the ceremony to be celebrated. For Ijashne (*yazishn*) alone 21 *tâi* are required, for Ijashne with Vendidad and Visparad 33 *tâi*, for Yashti-Rapithwin 13 *tâi*, for Darûn Bâj 5 *tâi*, or 7 when a priest becomes a *herhad*.” In a footnote Dr. Haug adds—“According to other information the Darûn Bâj requires 7 *tâi* of double thickness, or 9 if performed in the house of a king or chief highpriest. In the Nîrangistân it is stated that the barsom twigs may be cut from any tree whose trunk is sound, and that they should be from one to three spans in length and a barley-corn in thickness, and their number either 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 15, 21, 33, 69, or 551, according to the circumstances of the ceremony.”

The barsom carried by the Magus on the gold plate has only 5 twigs or rods, but I can nowhere find any statement as to the particular ceremony for which a wand of 5 twigs is required. All the authorities, from Anquetil du Perron downwards, are content with stating the fact that the number varies according to the character of the sacrifice performed. Gerson da Cunha, the latest writer, simply says that “in the ordinary Darûn ceremony only 5 wires are used.”*

Arms and Ornaments.

Both Medes and Persians were fond of gold ornaments; and in the sculptures of Persepolis and Nakshi Rostam we see a profusion of ear-rings, finger-rings, bracelets, armlets, and collars or torques, of which numerous examples are found in the present collection. The only arms represented are the short Persian sword called *Akinakés*, on the Magus, in Plate XIV; and a spear in the hands of the king in the chariot, in Plate XII. On the coins, however, are seen both the bow and the shield.

Ear-rings are represented by a single specimen, Plate XVI, fig. 1, which I have already noticed as being of superior workmanship. It represents a naked male figure with his hands on his hips, and his body bent double. The figure is well proportioned and beautifully made. Arrian mentions gold ear-rings set with precious stones as part of the treasures in the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ: ἐνώτια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων κολλητά, Arrian, Anabasis, VI, 29.

Finger-rings are of two kinds, the coiled *snake* pattern and the *seal ring* pattern. Of the former there are two specimens in Plate XVI, the

* See Gerson da Cunha, in Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, XIV, 6.

larger one weighing 176 grains, and the smaller one only 77 grains. Of the seal rings there are three specimens. 1st, A king seated on a chair, Plate XII, fig. 2, weighing 272 grains in my possession. 2nd, An animal running to left, Plate XV, fig. 5, weighing 60 grains, also in my possession. 3rd, Human-headed and winged bull walking to left, with an inscription of 4 letters, which will be discussed when I come to describe the coins. This seal is in the British Museum.

Bracelets and *Armlets* are by far the most numerous of the ornaments found on the Oxus. There are no less than six specimens in Plate XVI, and I have seen several others. They are all of gold from one-eighth to one-sixth of an inch in thickness, and invariably terminate in animal's heads, such as goats, rams, lions and griffins. See Plate XVI, figs. 5 to 10. The horned heads are very skilfully arranged for actual wear, the horns being always thrown on the back of the head, or joined together behind the head so as not to catch in the dress. Bracelets are mentioned by both Herodotus and Xenophon as parts of the usual ornaments of the Persians.

Torques, or Collars are represented by only two specimens. All the principal figures in the sculptures at Persepolis are represented wearing neck-chains or collars. They formed part of the royal ornaments deposited in the tomb of Cyrus,* and they formed part of the spoil which the Greeks stripped from the dead Persians after the battle of Plataea.† The larger specimen, fig. 12, Plate XVI, is nearly one quarter of an inch in diameter. When complete it must have weighed about 7 ounces, as this fragment weighs 336 grains. It is of excellent workmanship.

The throne of the king would appear to have been a single high-backed chair. The only representation amongst the Oxus find is on the gold ring Plate XII, fig. 2. But other seats of a similar kind are found on the coins of the Satrap Datames or Tiridames. Plate XVII, fig. 5.

The Royal Chariot is well represented in Plate XII, both on the coins, and in an actual model chariot from the Oxus find. In this example there are two shafts or poles, each with a cross bar for two horses. The Royal chariot must therefore have had four horses as shown on the coins. The king is sitting in the chariot on a seat running fore and aft, and not across, while the charioteer is standing.

I have lately seen a small silver horse, which, from a hole on one side, would appear to have been attached to a chariot. It was solid, and came from the Oxus. It was a little larger than the horse in the Plate.

Animals.

The animals represented amongst the Oxus relics are the horse, the lion, the stag, a fish, a pigeon, a small bird like an eagle, and two snakes.

* Arrian, *Exped. Alexandri*, VI, 21.

† Herodot. IX, 80.

Also amongst the bracelets and collars there are heads of lions, dogs, goats, and bulls.

The principal figures are the stag, the sheep and the fish, the two former being represented in Plate XV, of full size, and the last only half size. The winged bull in the same Plate is also of full size. A first view recalls that of the Assyrian sculptures, both in subject and in style. The strongly displayed and exaggerated ribs and muscles of the bull, the stag, and the sheep suggest the possibility that they may even be real specimens of Assyrian art which had found their way to Bactria.

The most puzzling thing about these relics is their use. Many of them were certainly simple ornaments; such as the winged bull in Plate XV, which has eyelet holes for fastening it to some wooden or metal ground, such as the sheath of a sword. Professor Rawlinson supposes that the scabbard described by Curtius as *ex gemmâ erat vagina*, was formed "of a single piece of jasper, agate, lapis lazuli."* But as such a scabbard would have been fatal to the sharp edge of the sword, I have no doubt that the stones were only very thin slices fastened to a wooden sheath. In fact the scymitars found on the bodies of the dead Persians after the battle of Plataea are described by Herodotus as covered with "ornaments of gold."†

But as the stag, the sheep, and the fish of my collection could not possibly have been used for overlaying any flat surface, it has struck me that they may have been used as crests for helmets, or standards. The first two were certainly either nailed or possibly sewn with stout thread, to some larger object; but the fish must, I think, have been slung from the top of a standard as it has a stout ring or eyelet hole, on its left side, close to the end of the fin. It must therefore have been suspended perpendicularly with the mouth up.

Coins found on the Oxus.

In treating of the ancient coinage of Lydia and Persia it is necessary to remember that the former derived its monetary standard from Assyria and the latter from Babylonia. The value of the Lydian standard is placed beyond all doubt by the statement of Herodotus about the ingots of gold and electrum which Cræsus presented to the temple at Delphi.‡ According to his account the ingots were all of the same size, 6 palms long by 3 palms broad and 1 palm thick. Taking the Greek palm at 3.034375 inches, each ingot would have contained 502.898 cubic inches. Of these ingots 4 only were of pure gold weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ talents, the remaining 113 being of pale gold, or electrum, and weighing only 2 talents each. Then taking the

* Ancient Monarchies, III, 208, 2nd edition.

† Herodotus, IX, 80.

‡ Herodot., Hist. I, 50.

specific gravity of water at 252·45 grains per cubic inch and that of pure gold at 19·258 times that of water, the weight of each of the 4 ingots of refined gold would have been 350·76 lbs., which makes the Lydian talent just 140·3 lbs. Now this was also the Assyrian talent, as we learn from the weights of the lions and ducks preserved in the British Museum, which give an Assyrian mina of 15,368 grains, and a Babylonian mina of 7,747 grains, or just one half of the other. The same difference is still preserved at the present day as the *man* of Shirâz and Bagdâd is just double that of Tabrez and Bushir, the average of the former being 14·06 lbs. and that of the latter being only 6·985.* The weight corresponding to the ancient talent is the *toman*, or *dah-man*, that is 10 *mans*, of which the Bagdâdi *toman* averages 140·6 lbs., and the Tabrezi *toman* 69·85 lbs., the former being the modern representative of the Assyrian, and the latter of the Babylonian talent.

But these values are only approximations, as it is very unlikely that the Lydian ingots were made in exact whole numbers of Greek measures, and we know that all measures of weight suffer degradation in the lapse of time. To obtain more exact values we must refer to the statements of ancient authors, and compare them with the weights of the actual coins which have come down to us.

The earliest fact bearing on this subject is the statement of Herodotus, in his account of the satrapies of Darius, that the value of gold in Persia was 13 times that of silver. But this is directly at variance with another statement that the Babylonian talent was equal to 70 Euboic minæ, because as the silver payments were made in the Babylonian standard and the gold payments in the Euboic, this would reduce the rate of silver to gold from 13 down to $11\frac{2}{3}$. The true number of *minæ* in the Babylonian talent was 78, and not 70, as we may deduce from the difference of the rates between silver and gold which prevailed in Eubæa and Persia. Thus, as the rate of 10 is to 13, so are 60 minæ to 78 minæ. By applying this corrected value of the Babylonian talent to the text of Herodotus, all the discrepancies, which have hitherto puzzled commentators, disappear at once. He gives the total amount of the nineteen silver paying satrapies at 7,600 Babylonian talents, which his text says are equal to 9,540 Euboic talents, instead of 9,880 which is the true value at 13 rates. And that this was the actual rate that he used in the reduction is proved by his final total, which after adding the quota of the 20th satrapy, namely, 360 talents of gold, or $360 \times 13 = 4,680$ talents of silver, he makes 14,560 talents.† The sum of these

* — Kelly's Cambist—Prinsep's Useful Tables.

† Herodot., Hist., III, 96. I made this correction so long ago as 1858. The total of silver payments is said by Mr. Rawlinson (Herodotus, Vol. II, 486) to be 7,740 talents, but he has overlooked the fact that 140 talents of the 4th satrapy were not

two, 9,880 plus 4,680, is exactly 14,560 talents as stated by Herodotus.

As it is important to establish the correctness of the rate of 13 silver to 1 gold as noted by Herodotus, I append here the details of the sums actually paid into the Persian treasury.

Satrapies—Talents.

No.	I.—400
	II.—500
	III.—360
	IV.—360—(500 less 140 for cavalry not paid into Treasury.)
	V.—350
	VI.—700
	VII.—170
	VIII.—300
	IX.—1000
	X.—450
	XI.—200
	XII.—360
	XIII.—400
	XIV.—600
	XV.—250
	XVI.—300
	XVII.—400
	XVIII.—200
	XIX.—300

7,600 Babylonian talents of 78 Attic minæ
equal to 9,880 Euboic talents, of 60 Attic minæ

at 13 to 10—so $7,600 \times \frac{13}{10} = 9,880$ Euboic talents of silver
Add XXth satrapy 360 gold $\times 13 =$ silver 4,680

which gives a total of 14,560 Euboic talents of silver

exactly as stated by Herodotus.

The next fact regarding Persian money we get from Xenophon, who states that the talent was equal to 300 Darics, and the *siglos* was equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ Attic oboli.* Taking the Attic drachma at 67·2 English grains and the obolus at 11·2 grains, the weight of the *siglos*, or Persian silver coin, would be received by Darius. The actual total of silver payments was therefore only 7,600 talents, as I have stated above.

* Xenoph., Anab., I—'Ο δὲ Σίγλος δύναται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιοβόλιον.

have been exactly 84 grains. But this value we know from numbers of existing coins to be too low, as the average of 10 good specimens, which I have recorded is 85.19 grains, of which 6 are of 86 grains and upwards, the heaviest reaching 87.9 grains. Accordingly I find that Hesychius fixes the value of the *siglos* at 8 Attic oboli, which would make it $11.2 \times 8 = 89.6$ grains in weight. His words are Σίγλος νόμισμα Περσικὸν δυνάμενον ὀκτῶ ὀβολοῦς Ἀττικῶς. The *siglos* is also mentioned in Attic inscriptions, according to Lenormant.* It seems probable therefore that the true value may have been between $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 oboli. Now several ancient writers state that the Persian Daric was equal to 20 Attic drachms; and as we gather from Xenophon that it was also equal to 20 Persian *sigli*, I conclude that this difference in value must have been due solely to the difference of rate of silver to gold in the two countries. In Greece, owing to the successful working of the gold mines in Thrace, the rate was only 10 to 1, while in Persia it was 13 to 1. That this value of 13 to 1 was not a fluctuating rate is proved by the fact that *Sím*, the Persian word for silver, has also the meaning of "one thirteenth." I believe therefore that the weight of the *siglos* was to that of the Attic drachma exactly in the ratio of 13 to 10, which would make the *siglos* just 87.36 grains, or as nearly as possible intermediate between the two values given by Xenophon and Hesychius.

Accepting this as the true weight of the *siglos*, the value of 1 *Daric*, or 20 *sigli*, will be 1747.2 grains of silver, and the Persian talent, which was equal to 300 gold Darics in *value*, and to $300 \times 20 = 6000$ silver *sigli* in *weight*, will be 524,160 grains, or 74.88 lbs. At 84 grains to the *siglos*, the Persian talent would have been exactly 72 English pounds avoirdupois. Having thus established the normal weight of the *siglos* at 87.36 grains, I will now proceed to fix the weights of other Persian coins beginning with the *Daric*.

The *Daric* was the common coin of the ancient Persian empire, just as the sovereign or pound is the common coin of England at the present time. In value it was equal to 20 *sigli*; and as the rate of silver to gold was 13 to 1, the gold *Daric* must have been exactly one-thirteenth of the weight of 20 *sigli*, or $87.36 \times \frac{20}{13} = 134.4$ grains, which is the full weight of the Attic stater. I am aware that many numismatists consider the *Daric* to have been a lighter coin than the Attic stater. But I believe that this opinion has been created by simply ignoring the fact that the Darics were much longer in circulation than the Attic staters of Philip and Alexander, and by comparing Attic staters of *full* weight with the *averages* of a number of *worn* Darics. For instance Mr. Head makes the normal weight of the Darics only 130 grains.† But as he makes the normal

* Revue Numismatique, 1867, p. 362.

† Coinage of Lydia and Persia, pp. 29-30.

weight of the siglos to be 86·45 grains, the Daric should be $86 \cdot 5 \times \frac{20}{13} = 331$ grains exactly. He gets the lower weight by taking the rate of silver at 13·3 instead of 13 as distinctly stated by Herodotus, and as actually used by the historian in his reductions.

I have taken the normal weight of the *Daric* as 134·4 grains, or exactly equal to the Attic stater by raising it from the ascertained weight of the Persian *siglos* of silver. I will now compare the actual Darics that have come down to us with a number of Attic staters. For this purpose I have examined the catalogues and descriptions of nine different collections, from which I find that 21 staters of Philip, 42 of Alexander, 3 of Arrhidæus and 12 of Lysimachus, or altogether 78 Attic staters give an average weight of 132·11 grains. Taking the normal Attic stater at 134·4 grains, the average loss of these 78 staters is 2·29 grains. With these staters we may compare 125 Darics, which formed part of a hoard of 300 found in the canal of Xerxes. The average weight of these 125, as ascertained by H. P. Borrell, was 129·4 grains, while many of the heavier pieces reached 132 grains.* Now adding a loss of 2·29 grains to 129·4, we get 131·69 as the approximate normal weight of the Daric. But as many of the best pieces actually weighed 132 grains I think that the normal weight of the Daric may fairly be placed as high as 133 grains. It appears also from Hussey's examination of the gold staters in the British Museum and other collections that the average weight of 71 staters of Philip, Alexander and Lysimachus was a little over 132 grains, the heaviest only reaching 133 grains.† It must be remembered also that the Museum coins are selected specimens, chosen specially for the goodness of their preservation. I believe therefore that if a similar selection of the choicest specimens had been made from the 300 Darics found in the canal of Xerxes, their average weight would most probably have also reached 132 grains.

The Daric was divided into 20 silver shekels, or *sigli*, just as the English sovereign is divided into 20 shillings. The weight of the *siglos* itself has already been discussed. But the multiples and divisions of the *siglos* have hitherto received but little attention from numismatists with reference to their value. For the sake of mere convenience it seems almost certain that there must have been a quarter Daric piece either of gold or of silver. No gold coin of this value has yet been found, but there is a considerable number of large silver pieces weighing from 396 up to 438·5 grains which are certainly *quarter Darics* in value, whatever their name may have been. I have a record of the weights of 22 of these coins, of which the five heaviest average 426·66 grains, the maximum weight being 433·5 grains. Now

* H. P. Borrell in *Numismatic Chronicle*, VI, 153, and Max. Borrell in personal communication.

† Hussey's *Essay*, p. 16.

taking the *siglos* at 87·36 grains, the normal weight of the *pentasiglon* or quarter Daric, would have been 436·8 grains, or only a trifle more than the actual weight of these large silver coins. The types of these coins are the king in a chariot drawn by four horses, and a galley filled with rowers on the reverse. There is also a quarter piece of the same types, or one-sixteenth of a Daric.

The next silver coin in weight is the Aryandic of which Herodotus has given a brief account. These coins range from 220 to 236 grains in weight which is too heavy for the eighth of a Daric, or 218·4 grains at the rate of 13 to 1. It would, however, exactly agree with the required weight at 14 rates, as $134\cdot4 \times \frac{14}{8} = 235\cdot2$ grains. But so far as I am aware there is no authority for supposing that gold was scarce or silver common in Egypt during the governorship of Aryandes.

The next coins in weight are those of the Satraps of Asia Minor, Tiri-bazus, Pharnabazus, Tiridames, and others. Mr. Head takes the normal weight of their coins at 172·9 grains, or just twice that of the *siglos*, which he fixes at 86·45 grains. According to my valuation of the *siglos* at 87·36 grains the full weight of the satrapal coins of Asia Minor would be 174·72 grains. The difference between these values is very little; but I altogether dissent from Mr. Head's identification of the *siglos* with the Persian *drachm*. This name I would assign to the *double siglos* of the Satraps on the following grounds. At the present day the three smaller weights of the Persian system are the *Dânik* or *Dâng*, the *Mishkâl*, and the *Darm* or *Diram*, which I would identify with the *Danaké*, the *siglos*, and the *Drachma* of ancient writers. As the *Darm* is equal to 2 *Mishkâls*, it corresponds exactly with the satrapal silver coins of Asia Minor, which are just double the weight of the *siglos*. The *Darm* was therefore one-tenth of a Daric.

The ancient Persian *siglos* was divided into 6 *Danakés*, just as the *Mishkâl* is now divided into 6 *Dâniks* or *Dângs*; and as the *siglos* was $\frac{1}{20}$ th of the Daric, so the *Dânik* was $\frac{1}{120}$ th, and its multiple of 4 *Dâniks* [*Chahâr-Dânik*] was $\frac{1}{30}$ th, of a Daric. A specimen of this last very rare coin, weighing 55 grains, is given in Plate XVII fig. 4. The *Hemisiklon* is mentioned by Josephus, and the *Hemisiklion* by Hesychius. The *half-siglos*, or *quarter darm*, is such an obviously useful division that one would have expected the coin to have been very common. But so far as I am aware, not a single specimen of this value has yet been found of the royal archer type.

The *Dânik* itself is mentioned by three different authors, Pollux, Hesychius and Suidas. Pollux writes the name *Daniké* or *Danaké*, or *Danikon*, and says that it was a Persian coin. Hesychius calls it *Danaë*, and says that it was worth more than an obolus.* But this form of *Danaë* is

* Δανά νομισμάτιόν τι βαρβαρικὸν δυνάμενον πλεον ὀβολοῦ ὀλίγη τι.

certainly a mistake for *Danaké*, as he names the half coin *Hemidanakion*. Suidas also writes the name *Danaké*, and repeats what was previously said by Hesychius, that this coin was placed in the mouths of the dead. Comparing the statement of Hesychius, that the *Danaké* was worth more than an obolus, with the present division of the mishkâl or shekel into 6 *Dâniks*, it results that the normal weight of the *Danaké* must have been upwards of 14 grains, or more exactly $87\cdot36$ divided by $6 = 14\cdot56$ grains. Coins approaching this weight, that is from 12 to 13 grains, are not uncommon, but they are all of later date than the incuse Darics and sigli. According to Mr. Head these are *obols* of the Babylonian standard of 14 grains. The name of *Danaké* at once suggests the Indian silver *tangka*, which was of exactly the same weight, that is the fourth part of the 56 grains *karsha*.

Specimens of the *half-Dânik*, or *Hemi-danakion* of Hesychius are also known, but they are very rare. One of 6 grains with a city wall on one side, and the kneeling archer on the other is noticed by Mr. Head.

I can find no mention in ancient authors of the copper coinage of Persia; but a few specimens have come down to us, three of which are noted by Mr. Head. I possess a rather fine example of his Plate XIII, fig. 23, weighing only 24 grains. If the old Indian rate of 40 copper to 1 silver prevailed also in Persia, this coin would have been just one-twentieth of the Danake, or Persian obolus. The relative values of the ancient Persian coins just described will be best understood by arranging them in tabular form.

	<i>Gold</i>	<i>grains</i>	<i>Value in silver Sigli.</i>
1	Double Daric,.....	$268\cdot8 =$	40 sigli or shekels.
1	Daric,	$134\cdot4 =$	20 „ „
<i>Silver.</i>			
1	Pentasilgion =	$436\cdot8 =$	5 „ „
1	Disiglon or Darm =	$174\cdot72 =$	2 „ „
1	Siglos or Shekel,.....	$87\cdot36 =$	1 siglos.
1	Chahâr Dânik,.....	$58\cdot24 =$	$\frac{2}{3}$ siglos—the Indian karsha.
1	Double Danik,.....	$29\cdot12 =$	$\frac{1}{3}$ siglos—the Indian kona.
1	Dânik or Danake, ...	$14\cdot56 =$	$\frac{1}{6}$ siglos—the Indian tangka.
$\frac{1}{2}$	Dânik, Hemidanakion,	$7\cdot28 =$	$\frac{1}{12}$ siglos.

In Sanskrit Dictionaries I find mention of a coin named *Ropaka*, which is said to be of the value of one-seventieth of the Indian Suvarṇa. As this would be an extremely inconvenient sub-division, I think it almost certain that the coin was one-sixtieth of the Persian Daric and Attic stater of Bactria, which was just equal to six-sevenths of the Indian Suvarṇa. A coin of this value certainly existed in India, but it was a half *karsha* in value, and was usually called *kona*.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS.

PERSIAN KINGS.

No. 1. GOLD. *Double Daric*, 0·8 inch. Pl. XVII, fig. 1. Author. 255 grains.

Obv. King to right with radiated tiara and long beard kneeling on right knee, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand. Quiver arrows at back.

Rev. Rude shapeless incuse.

No. 2. GOLD. *Daric*, 0·7 inch. Author. 132·5 grains.

Obv. King as on No. 1, Mr. Head, Pl. I, 16.

No. 3. GOLD. *Double Daric*, 0·75 inch. Author. 256 grains.

Obv. King as on No. 1 ; but with lofty head-dress and holding a javelin in right hand.

No. 4. GOLD. *Double Daric*, 0·75 inch. Author. 256 grains.

Obv. King as on No. 3 ; but with radiated tiara. In the field to left a wreath, and some indistinct object above.

No. 5. GOLD. *Double Daric*, 0·75 inch. Author. 255 grains.

Obv. King as on No. 4. In the field to left the Greek letters Φ and Λ .

Rev. Two ovals with rough marks inside incuse.

No. 6. GOLD. *Double Daric*, 0·75 inch. Author. 255 grains.

Obv. King as on No. 4, but with short beard, and long points to his crown. In the field to left the Greek letter ϕ , and a Greek monogram forming MHT.

Rev. A crescent on each side with three marks inside, the whole in a symmetrical incuse, Mr. Head, Pl. I, 15.

No. 7. GOLD. *Daric*, 0·65 inch. Author. 129·5 grains.

Obv. King as on No. 4.

No. 8. SILVER. *Pentasilglon* or *Quarter Daric*, 1·3 inch. Author. 407 $\frac{3}{4}$ grains.

Obv. King in four-horse chariot, with driver in front, and an attendant on foot behind the chariot. Plate XII, fig. 6.

Rev. Boat with rowers and sails, on zigzag waves, surrounded by a circle.

No. 9. SILVER. *Pentasilglon* or *Quarter Daric*, 1·1 inch. Author. 400 grains. Plate XII, fig. 7. British Museum specimens.

Obv. King in four-horse chariot as on No. 8.

Rev. Boat with rowers on zigzag waves.

No. 10. SILVER. *Aryandic* or *two and half sigli*, 0·95 inch. Author. 219 grains. Plate XVII, fig. 2. See Mr. Head, Plate I, 20.

Obv. King bearded with radiated crown, kneeling on right knee, holding a bow in left hand, and a javelin in right hand.

Rev. Large incuse with uncertain objects.

No. 11. SILVER. *Aryandic*, 0·9 inch. Author. 226·5 grains. Plate XII, fig. 5.

Obv. King as on No. 10. In the field to left the Greek letters ΔΗ.

Rev. Large incuse as on the last.

No. 12. SILVER. *Daric*, 0·6 inch. Author. 82 grains. Mr. Head, Plate I, fig. 25.

Obv. King as on No. 1, with arrow in right hand.

No. 13. SILVER. *Daric*, 0·6 inch. Author. 83 grains. Mr. Head, Pl. I, 25.

Obv. King as on No. 10.

No. 14. SILVER. *Four Dánik piece or two thirds of a siglos*, 0·55 inch. Author. 55·5 grains. Plate XII, fig. 4.

Obv. As on No. 10.

No. 15. SILVER. *Daric*, 0·6 inch. Author. 83 grains. Mr. Head Pl. I, 28.

Obv. King kneeling on right knee, and shooting an arrow.

PERSIAN SATRAPS.

Tiribazus, B. C. 400—380.

No. 16. SILVER. *Double Siglos*, 0·9 inch. Author. 154 grains. Plate XVII, fig. 3. Duc du Luynes, Pl. I, 1, 2, 3.

Obv. Jupiter or Bâl, standing to left, holding spear in left hand and bird on right. Legend in Phœnician characters to right *Tiribazu*.

Rev. Ormazd; a human body above the solar disc. In his left hand a flower, in the right a wreath.

Pharnabazus, B. C. 400—380.

No. 17. No coin of this Satrap has come into my possession, but I have received a bad impression of a single specimen of the same type as the coin of Tiridames, Plate XVII, fig. 4.

Tiridames.

No. 18. SILVER. *Double Siglos*, 0·85 inch. Author. 150 grains. Plate XVII, fig. 4. Duc de Luynes, Pl. II, 9, 10.

Obv. Helmeted and bearded head of Satrap to right. Legend to right in Phœnician characters *Tiridamu*. The Duc de Luynes reads the name as *Dernes*, and M. Waddington as *Datames*. I have adopted the reading of M. Lenormant.

Rev. Female head to the front.

No. 19. SILVER. *Double Siglos*, 0·9 inch. Author. 160 grains. Plate XVII, fig. 5. Duc de Luynes, Pl. II, 5, 6, 7.

Obv. Jupiter seated to right. Legend in Phœnician characters to left *Bâl Tars*, "the god Bâl of Tarsus."

Rev. Satrap seated to right, clad in the *Kandys* or Persian tunic, the *Anaxyrides*, or Persian trowsers, and the Persian felt tiara with lappets tied under the chin. Legend to the left in Phœnician characters *Tiridamu*.

Pharaspes, or Pharnaspes.

Of this Satrap 3 gold coins and 1 gold ring are now known, of which all but one of the coins came from the Oxus. Of the Oxus relics I received impressions, from which the photograph of the ring, Plate XVII, fig. 6, was taken. Figs. 7 and 8 are taken from the photographs of the coins in the British Museum. Of the third coin which is similar in type to fig. 9, I have only an impression, the original having gone, I believe, to the British Museum. The two coins figs. 7 and 8 have been published by Mr. Percy Gardner in the Numismatic Chronicle.

No. 20. GOLD-RING. The only notice that I have seen of this ring is the following—"Society of Antiquaries: M. Franke exhibited a gold ring engraved with a man-headed winged bull, wearing a Persian tiara, and a caduceus without a handle, which is the zodiacal sign for Taurus. From a Pehlavi inscription on the seal Mr. Percy Gardner identified it as belonging to the Persian king *Vahaspes*, who reigned about 70 years after the death of Alexander the Great." I think that the second letter may be *r*, and accordingly I read the name as *Pharaspes*, or *Pharnaspes*. Arrian mentions a Mede named *Baryaxes* who had put the royal tiara on his head and called himself king of Media and of Persia. He was brought by Atropates to Alexander at Pasargadae, where he was put to death. I think it not impossible that these coins may belong to him, or perhaps he may be identified with Pharasmanes, king of Chorasmia [Arrian, Anab. IV. 15], who was also a contemporary of Alexander.

No. 21. GOLD. *Stater*. British Museum, 0.75 inch, weight 135.9 grains, from the Oxus. Plate XVII, fig. 7. See Numismatic Chronicle XIX, Plate I, fig. 2.

Obv. Head of Satrap to right, bearded and clad in soft felt tiara with long lappets tied under the chin. Legend to left in ancient Pehlavi characters.

Rev. Satrap in four horse chariot to right. Legend below in ancient Pehlavi characters.

No. 22. GOLD. *Stater*, British Museum, 0.8 inch, weight 132.9 grains, from Payne Knight's collection. Plate XVII, fig. 8. See Numismatic Chronicle XIX, Pl. 1, fig. 3.

Obv. Helmeted head of Pallas to right, ΠΓ under chin.

Rev. Victory to front, with palm over left shoulder and wreath in

right hand. To right, legend in ancient Pehlavi characters, and one letter to left.

As this piece is an undoubted copy of Alexander the Great's gold coins, it is possible that the letters III or 73, may stand for the date, which would be $312 - 73 = 239$ B. C.

No. 23. GOLD. *Double stater*, only a paper impression seen. The coin is similar to fig. 9, Plate XVII, but with the ancient Pehlavi legend of the above seal and coins.

No. 24. GOLD. *Double stater*, 0.85 inch, weight 256 grains. Author. Plate XVII, fig. 9.

Obv. Youthful head of Alexander the Great, covered with the skin and tusks of an elephant's head.

Rev. Victory winged, with palm branch and wreath to left. In the field to left, head of Bukephalos, and below the Greek letters ΔΙ.

As these are the well known types of Alexander the Great's gold money, this piece was most probably issued from one of the Eastern mints some time during his reign.

Alexander the Great.

No. 25. Of Alexander the Great about one hundred tetradrachms and as many drachms were comprised in the Oxus find, the greater number of them in very poor condition. I have kept one of the tetradrachms which is in very good preservation on the reverse. It is of the usual type of the seated Zeus, with the name only in small neat characters. In the field to left is a three quarter horse feeding. Beneath the chair is a monogram formed of the letters ΠΑΑΗ and under the eagle a second monogram No. 1351 of Müller, which with the horse is found on the coins of the Larissa mint.

Andragoras.

Contemporary with Alexander are the coins of Andragoras in gold and silver, which bear the name only without the title of king. Admitting the correctness of the conclusion, the coins must belong to the person mentioned by Justin as Andragoras, a Persian nobleman, who was made governor of Parthia by Alexander, to whom the kings of the Parthians afterwards traced their origin.* A second Andragoras, also a governor of the Parthians, is afterwards mentioned by Justin, as having been slain by Arsakes, the founder of the Parthian monarchy, in B. C. 248. If the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ had been upon these coins, I should have assigned them to him at once, as one of the governors who followed the example of Diodotus and revolted against Antiochus II. of Syria. But the absence

* Justini, XII. 5. Parthis deinde domitis, praefectus his statuitur ex nobilibus Persarum Andragoras; unde postea originem Parthorum reges habuere.

of the title of King is, I believe, conclusive that the date cannot be later than the time of Alexander the Great, as all his generals assumed the title and placed it on their coins.

No. 26. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·75 inch; weighing 132 grains. Author. Duplicate, British Museum. Triplicate, Author. There are numerous forgeries of which I have seen seven specimens.

Obv. Bare and bearded head of Jupiter to right, the hair very formally arranged. Behind the head a monogram forming the letters ΑΤΡΟΠΙΑΘ. See Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XIX, p. I, and Plate I, No. 1.

Rev. The king helmeted being driven by Victory in a four-horse chariot. Three dots in the field below the fore-feet of the horses. In the exergue (ΑΝΔ) ΠΑΓΟΡΟΥ. The British Museum coin has the name complete at the beginning, but deficient at the end.

No. 27. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 0·95 inches, weight 253 grains. Author. A duplicate in better preservation and larger has gone to the British Museum, 1·1 inch, weight 255·8 grains, see Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. I, 3rd Series, Pl. II, fig. 1.

Obv. Turreted female head to right. Monogram behind the head, the same as on the gold coins.

Rev. Pallas armed with helmet, spear and shield to left, holding a bird in her right hand. Legend to right ΑΝΔΠΑΓΟΡΟΥ.

The silver coins appear to me to be of much finer execution than the gold coins.

COINS OF CITIES.

Akanthus in Macedonia.

No. 28. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 1·1 inch; weight 253·5 grains. Author. Duplicate 1·0 inch, weight 250·5 grains. Author.

Obv. Lion devouring a bull, surrounded by a circle of dots. Over the Lion the Greek letter Θ.

Rev. Four incuse squares.

The duplicate has the same Greek letter over the bull.

Aspendus in Pamphylia.

No. 29. SILVER. *Disiglon*, 0·9 inch. I have seen six specimens and have received impressions of others.

Obv. A slinger preparing his sling. In the field to right a *triquetra* of three human legs; and to the left the legend ΕΣΤΦΕΔΙΙΥΣ Estwediius.

Athens.

No. 30. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 0·95 inch. Weight 220 grains.
Author. Very much worn.

Obv. Archaic helmeted head of Pallas to right with full elongated eye.

Rev. Owl standing to right in indented square. To left, olive branch and crescent. To right AΘE.

No. 31. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 0·9 inch. Weight 266 grains.
Author. Duplicate, native dealer.

Obv. Archaic head of Pallas, but with side eye.

Rev. Owl, olive twig, and crescent, with AΘE as before; but between the owl and inscription the letter Δ surmounted with a sloping line, perhaps intended for ΔI or IΔ.

No. 32. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 0·9 inch. Weight 260 grains.
Author. Plate XVIII, fig 1. See Numismatic Chronicle, XIX, Plate 1, fig. 7.

Obv. Helmeted head of Pallas to right, of later workmanship, with earrings, and roll of hair under back of helmet. In field to left a Greek monogram forming MOTY or TIMΩ.

Rev. A well formed owl to right, with olive twig and crescent, and the usual legend AΘE.

No. 33. SILVER. *Didrachma*, 0·7 inch. Weight 121 grains.
Author. Exactly similar to the last. The British Museum coin, Numismatic Chronicle, XIX, Pl. I, fig. 7, appears to be a much worn duplicate of this didrachma.

Uncertain.

No. 34. *Tetradrachma*, 0·85 inch. Weight 250 grains. Author. Duplicate. British Museum, 260·2 grains.

Obv. Helmeted head of Pallas to right, as on the coins of Athens.

Rev. Owl standing with legs together. To left, olive twig and crescent. To right, the Greek letters AIF. See Numismatic Chronicle, XX, Pl. X, fig. 5.

In his notice of this coin Mr. Percy Gardner states his opinion that this, like the others just described, is an "imitation of Athenian coins current in the far East about the time of Alexander." The letters AIF he takes "to begin the name of a Satrap, not of a city, for cities did not in those regions place their names on their coin." I confess myself that I should rather prefer the name of some city, connected with Athens. In my copy of Combe's Description of the Hunter Collection which had previously belonged to H. P. Borrell, I remember seeing a new attribution by Borrell of a coin of this type to Aegium in the Troad. I write from

memory, as I have no books to refer to, all my Numismatic Books having been burnt in the Pantehnicon.

No. 35. SILVER. *Drachma*, 0·5 inch. Weight 54 grains. Author.
Obv. Helmeted head of Pallas, as on Nos. 32 and 33.

Rev. An eagle to left with head turned backward. Over the tail of the bird a double sprig.

Byzantium.

No. 36. SILVER. *Drachma* (?), 0·65 inch. Weight 74 grains.
Author. I have seen a second coin.

Obv. Bull walking to left. Below a fish, and above the letters ΠΥ.

Rev. Incuse cross, like the sails of a windmill.

Kelenderis.

No. 37. I have seen the impression of a single coin of the common type.

Tarsus.

The coins of Tarsus that I have seen number about 25; but at least an equal number of impressions has been sent to me of which I have taken no account. They comprise several varieties, and probably range from B. C. 400 to 250. I have given only one of the coins in the accompanying Plates, as they can be referred to in other works, more especially in the valuable work of the Duc de Luynes.

No. 38. SILVER. *Disiglon*, 0·95 inch. Weight 163·5 grains.
Author. See De Luynes, *Satrapies*, Pl. IV, *Gaos*.

Obv. Jupiter of Tarsus sitting with spear in left hand and eagle at right hand. Legend in Phœnician characters to right *Bál-Tars*.

Rev. Lion devouring a bull. Legend in Phœnician letters in two lines, as read by De Luynes, *Gahosh Mazarka*. The satrap Gaos ruled from B. C. 386 to 384. I have not placed his coins with those of the satraps, as I believe that the reading of his name is doubtful.

No. 39. SILVER. *Disiglon*, 0·85 inch. Weight 150 grains. Author.
Also a duplicate. 158 grains.

Obv. Jupiter of Tarsus as on the last, but with a bunch of grapes in his right hand. Phœnician legend, *Bál-Tars*.

Rev. Lion devouring a stag. Phœnician legend over the lion *Mazarka*. In the field O.

No. 40. SILVER. *Disiglon*, 0·78 inch. Weight 162·5 grains. Author. See De Luynes, *Satrapies*, Pl. IX, 13.

Obv. Jupiter of Tarsus seated. Phœnician legend *Bál-Tars*.

Rev. Lion walking to left, tail undulated behind. Phœnician legend *Mazarka*.

No. 41. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 0·9 inch. Weight 250 grains.
Author. See De Luynes, *Satrapies*, Pl. IX, 18.

Obv. Jupiter seated, no legend.

Rev. Lion walking to left with tail between legs, over his back the Greek letter Γ.

No 42. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 0·95 inch. Weight 259 grains.
Author. See De Luynes, *Satrapies*, Pl. X, 26.

Obv. Jupiter of Tarsus seated: no legend.

Rev. Lion walking to left with tail between his legs. Over his back the anchor of Seleukus I. with the Greek letter Π. Below a crescent with a Greek monogram forming ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤ. See Mon. 9 of Syrian coins in my List in *Numismatic Chronicle*.

No. 43. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 0·95 inch. Weight 256 grains.
Author. Plate XVII, fig. 10.

Obv. Jupiter of Tarsus seated to left. In front the head of Bukephalos.

Rev. Lion as on No. 42 with anchor of Seleukus I. above. Below the Greek letters ΔΙ.

No. 44. SILVER. *Hemidrachma*, 0·5 inch. Weight 31 grains.
Author.

Types of both sides the same as the last, including the head of Bukephalos and the letters ΔΙ.

COINS OF KINGS.

Pixodarus, King of Caria.

No. 45. GOLD. *Quarter stater*, 0·4 inch. Weight 29 grains.
Mr. Gibbs.

Obv. Female head.

Rev. Zeus of Labranda carrying the double-headed axe. Legend to right ΠΙΞΩΔΑΡΟΥ.

Lysimachus, King of Thrace.

No 46. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, of the usual size and in good condition. Native dealer.

This is one of the common coins of Lysimachus, which has remained in the native owner's hand as he wanted 100 £ for it!

Seleukus I. Nikator.

No. 47. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*. See British Museum Catalogue of Greek coins, Seleucid kings of Syria, Pl. I, figs. 3 and 4.

Obv. Head of Alexander as Herakles clad in lion's skin.

Rev. Zeus seated with spear in left hand and eagle in right hand—
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ.

I have seen three specimens of this coin, and impressions of several others.

No. 48. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 0·95 inch. Weight 260 grains.
Author. Two fine specimens. Three others seen.

Obv. Laurelled head of Zeus to right, in fine preservation.

Rev. Pallas with thunderbolt in hand, driving a chariot drawn by four horned elephants. Anchor above. Belows ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Greek monogram over the elephants forming ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑΣ.

No. 49. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 1·00 inch. Weight 259 grains.
Author.

Obv. Laurelled head of Zeus to right; very bold relief and very fine preservation. Monogram behind forming AP.

Rev. Type same as the last.

Nos. 50, 51. *Drachmas*, same types and with the same legend, but monogram same as No. 32, British Museum Catalogue. Weights 63·5 and 63 grains, and both 0·60 inch in size.

No. 52. *Hemidrachma*, 0·50 inch. Weight 26 grains. Author. Same types, but with only 2 elephants to the chariot. Legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ only. Above is the letter Δ in a circle over the elephants.

This is the only coin that I have seen with this title amongst some 30 specimens of the small money.

Seleukus and Antiochus.

Nos. 53, 54. SILVER. *Tetradrachmas* of Phœnician standard, 1·00 and 0·90 inch, weighing 215 and 206 grains. Author. Mr. Gardner suspects a similar coin in the British Museum, weighing 212·6 grains, to be plated: but my 2 coins are good silver. See Plate XVIII, fig. 2.

Obv. Laurelled head of Zeus to right. On No. 54 the letter E below.

Rev. Pallas with thunderbolt in chariot drawn by four horned elephants. Legend in 3 lines ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Monogram above elephants forming ΔΩ in a circle.

On the peculiar legend of these coins Mr. Gardner has the following note*: “The meaning which one would naturally attach to it is that the coin was issued, while Seleukus was king, by his son Antiochus, who was viceroy of the Eastern provinces of the empire. The type belonging to Seleukus rather than to his son would tend to support this view.” That this is the true meaning of the legend is decisively proved by the smaller coins of this type which follow:

Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58. SILVER. *Drachmas*, 0·60 and 0·65 inch.

* Numismatic Chronicle, XIX, 10.

Weights 50·5, 48·0, 43·0, 50·0 grains. Author. Plate XVIII, figs. 5, 6.

Obv. Laurelled head of Zeus to right.

Rev. Pallas with thunderbolt in chariot drawn by 2 elephants. Inscription in three lines ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. Above the elephants the letter Δ in a circle.

This curious legend shows most conclusively that the coins belong to the two "Kings Seleukus and Antiochus." Now we know from Plutarch* and Appian that when Seleukus gave up Stratonike to his son, he at the same time granted him the title of king and made over to him the whole of the Eastern half of his kingdom from the Euphrates to the Indus. As his marriage with Stratonike took place either in B. C. 294 or 293, I think that Antiochus may have issued these coins about the same time to commemorate his acquisition of the royal title.

Nos. 59, 60. SILVER. *Oboli*, 0·35 and 0·30 inch. Weight 8·5 and 8·0 grains. Types as on the preceding coins, including monogram Δ in circle, but without any inscription. Plate XVIII, figs. 3, 4.

Antiochus I.

Nos. 61, 62. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·75 and 0·72 inch. Weight of each 130 grains. Author. I have seen several others.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right. No. 61 of middle age, No. 62 of old age.

Rev. Apollo seated on the Cortina, resting left hand on bow and holding arrow in right hand. In the field Δ. Inscription in two lines ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

No. 63. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·70 inch. Weight 129·5 grains. Author.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right, old portrait.

Rev. Apollo as on No. 61, star above, and lyre in field below, with monogram forming ΔΙ or ΔΙΤ. Inscription as before.

Nos. 64, 65. SILVER. *Tetradrachma* and *drachma* of same type as the gold coins just described.

No. 66. SILVER. *Drachma*, 0·65 inch. Weight 61 grains. Author. Plate XVIII, fig. 13. See gold coin of Seleukus of same type in British Museum Catalogue of Seleucid kings, Plate I, fig. 6.

Obv. Diademed head of Antiochus to right with bull's horn above ear.

Rev. Horned horse's head (Bukephalus?) to right, monogram to right forming ΑΠΑ. Monogram below indistinct. Inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

No. 67. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·6 inch. Weight 131·5 grains. Author. Plate XVIII, fig. 8. Duplicates, Mr. A. Grant and Author.

* Plutarch, in vita Demetrii.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right in bold relief. Duplicate very flat relief.

Rev. Head of Bukephalus to right, horned and bridled, with twisted forelock between the horns. In field Δ . Inscription as on No. 66.

Nos. 68, 69, 70. SILVER. *Tetradrachmas*, 1.05 inch. Weights 258, 259, 261 grains. Author. See Plate XVIII, fig. 9.

Obv. Diademed head of the king to right. The head on the heaviest coin is younger, and of much finer execution than the others.

Rev. Horned and bridled head of Bukephalus, with three tufts of hair between the ears. In the field to right the letter Δ in a circle. Inscription as before.

Nos. 71, 72. SILVER. *Tetradrachmas*, 1.0 and 0.93 inch. Weights 256 and 260 grains. Author.

Types as on the last, but the head of Bukephalus much larger, and with only one tuft of hair between the ears. Monogram and inscription as before.

No. 73. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 1.00 inch. Weight 254 grains. Author. Duplicate, Mr. A. Grant. See Plate XVIII, fig. 10.

Types the same as on the last, but with the addition of the letters ABIA Δ above the name of Antiochus. See Numismatic Chronicle, XX, Plate X, fig. 4, for Mr. Grant's coin.

Mr. Percy Gardner has suggested that ABIA Δ may probably be "the beginning of the name of some Satrap, or semi-independent ruler of a district in Bactria, or the Paropamisus." The horned horse's head, he notes, is "a type belonging specially to those regions."

Nos 74, 75, 76. SILVER. *Drachmas*, 0.65 inch. Weight 65 grains. Author. Duplicates 64.5 and 63 grains.

Types exactly the same as the *Tetradrachmas*, Nos. 68 to 70.

Nos. 77, 78. SILVER. *Hemidrachmas*, 0.53 inch. Weight 31.5 grains. Author. Plate XVIII, fig. 12.

Types the same as the *Tetradrachmas*, Nos. 68 to 70.

No. 79. SILVER. *Drachma*, 0.65 inch. Weight 64 grains. Author. A remarkably fine coin, Plate XVIII, fig. 11.

Obv. Youthful head of king to right in bold relief.

Rev. Head of Bukephalus horned and bridled, with one tuft between horns. Inscription as on No. 66. No monogram.

No. 80. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 1.10 inch. Weight 253 grains. Author. Duplicate, 1.00 inch, 252 grains. Plate XVIII, figs. 14, 15.

Obv. Middle-aged head of king to right.

Rev. Apollo seated on Cortina with 2 arrows in right hand. Inscription as on No. 66. In the field to left the letter Δ in a circle.

Antiochus II.

No. 81. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·8 inch. Weight 129 grains. Author. Duplicate, Mr. A. Grant.

Obv. Diademed head of the king to the right.

Rev. Zeus naked, with aegis on his left arm, and thunderbolt in his upraised right hand, moving to left; his feet wide apart. In the field eagle and wreath. Inscription as on No. 66.

No. 82. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·75 inch. Weight 127 grains. Author.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right, somewhat smaller than on the last.

Rev. Zeus as on No. 81, but legs not so wide apart. In the field eagle with the letter N. Inscription as on No. 81.

No. 83. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 1·00 inch. Weight 257 grains. Author. Several Duplicates.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right.

Rev. Zeus combatting as on the gold coins. Eagle and monogram No. 29 of my list of Syrian monograms in Numismatic Chronicle. Inscription as on No. 81.

No. 84. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 1·05 inch. Weight 254 grains. Author.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right.

Rev. Zeus combatting as before. In the field an eagle with the letter N. Inscription as on No. 81.

No. 85. SILVER. *Drachma*, 0·7 inch. Weight 60 grains. Author. Both types as on No. 81.

No. 86. SILVER. *Drachma*, 0·7 inch. Weight 61 grains. Author. Both types as on No. 81, but instead of the wreath, a monogram forming the letters YΔ. Inscription as on No. 81.

Antiochus III.

No. 87. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·75. Weight 130 grains. Author. Duplicate, 130 grains.

Obv. Youthful diademed head of king.

Rev. Apollo seated on Cortina. Star above, and lyre in field below, monogram forming ΔT or ΔIT. Inscription as on No. 66.

No. 88. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·72 inch. Weight 131 grains. Author.

Obv. Youthful laureated head of king to right.

Rev. Apollo seated on Cortina. In field to left Δ only. Inscription as before.

I am aware that these gold coins with the youthful face have been attributed to Antiochus Hierax by Mr. Percy Gardner. But I find it difficult to believe that any coins of Hierax, whose rule was confined to

Asia Minor, could have found their way to Bactria. I think also that the well known tetradrachmas with the hawk's wing over the ear belong to Hierax; and that he received his nickname of *Hierax*, or the "Hawk," from the wing on the coins, just as Alexander the Great received his title of *Dhulkarnain* or "Lord of Horns" from his portrait on the coins with the horn of Ammon. For these reasons I am inclined to assign the gold coins with the youthful portrait to Antiochus III. The occurrence of the monogram Δ on these coins is strongly in favour of this attribution, as it is found on so many others of the Oxus hoard, which are admittedly the mintage of the Eastern provinces, where the power of Hierax was unknown. On the other hand the coins with the hawk's wing seem to me to be from some of the well-known mints of Asia Minor where Hierax actually ruled. Thus the feeding horse, which occurs on all the hawk's wing coins, is assigned by Müller to Alexandria in the Troad, while one of the British Museum coins with a double monogram is referred by Mr. Gardner himself to Alexandria in the Troad.* The other two British Museum coins I would refer to Metropolis or the Kayster. The first coin I should prefer giving to Magnesia on the Hermus. A fourth coin published by Leake was probably minted at Apameia on the Kibôtus.

Diodotus.

No. 89. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·75 inch. Weight 131·5 grains. Author. Several duplicates.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right, very like the portrait on the coins of Antiochus II. of the same types. I agree with Mr. Gardner in thinking that both are the portraits of Diodotus.

Rev. Zeus combatting. To left eagle and wreath as on the coins of Antiochus II. Inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

No. 90. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·70 inch. Weight 127 grains. Author.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right, different from the last.

Rev. Zeus combatting. To left eagle and wreath as before, but with a spear-head in the field to right. Inscription as on No. 89.

No. 91. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·72 inch. Weight 128 grains. Author.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right, different face.

Rev. Zeus combatting. In the field to left an eagle and the letter N. Inscription as on No. 89.

No. 92. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·73 inch. Weight 129 grains. Author.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right, like No. 89.

Rev. Zeus combatting. In field eagle and wreath with star above them. Inscription as on No. 89.

No. 93. SILVER. *Tetradrachma*, 1·00 inch. Weight 259 grains. Author. Duplicate 259 grains.

* Seleucid kings of Syria, Antiochus II, No. 5 coin.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right.

Rev. Zeus combatting as on the gold coins, eagle at foot. Inscription as on No. 89.

No. 94. SILVER. *Drachma*, 0·65 inch. Weight 53 grains. Author. Both types as on No. 92.

No. 95. SILVER *Tetradrachma*, 1·10 inch. Weight 259 grains. Author. Duplicate 249 grains.

Both types as on No. 92, but with the addition of wreath over the eagle.

No. 96. SILVER. *Drachma*, 0·7 inch. Weight 61 grains. Author. Similar to No. 94. A duplicate, 62 grains, has a monogram forming IIYPH with the letter F below.

No. 97. SILVER. *Drachma*, 0·68 inch. Weight 61 grains. Author.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right.

Rev. Zeus combatting. In field eagle and crescent. Inscription as before.

Euthydemus.

No. 98. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·70 inch. Weight 126 grains. Author. Duplicate 127 grains.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right.

Rev. Herakles seated on a rock with left hand placed on the rock, and right holding a club, which rests on a pile of three rocks in front. Elbow well raised above knee, and club pointed upwards clear of head. Monogram over top of club forming NIK.

No. 99. GOLD. *Stater*, 0·65 inch. Weight 127 grains. Author. Duplicate 133 grains.

Obv. Diademed head of king to right.

Rev. Herakles as on the last, but rather smaller. Elbow almost touching thigh, and club resting on a pile of four rocks, with top pointed towards forehead.

Nos. 100, 101. SILVER. Coins of Euthydemus of all the well known types. Several in good preservation; but many in very poor condition.

Here ends the list of all different varieties of coins that have come under my notice. Some of them are unique, and several are very rare, while many others are very common. The coins that I have seen amount to 64 gold and 459 silver, or altogether 523 specimens. But at least as many more must have been sold to Officers with the Army in Afghanishtân, so that the whole number found cannot have been less than 150 gold and 1000 or 1200 silver coins, mostly tetradrachms. The value of the coins alone would therefore have been about one talent or upwards, or 300£ sterling.

It is impossible to estimate the value of the ornaments and other relics found in the Oxus deposit, as so many of them were cut up on the spot, whilst many have found their way into other hands. It may be useful, however, to note that my own collection comprises 9,788 grains of gold relics and 34,075 grains of silver relics. The Chariot and Horseman belonging to Lord Lytton weigh 1,431 grains of gold. The par value of the relics that I have seen may be summed up as follows:

	GOLD.	SILVER.
Author,	1,223 Rs.....	190 Rs.
Lord Lytton,	180 Rs.	
Major Burton,	700 Rs.	
	2,103 Rs. +	190 Rs.
Total,	2,293 Rs.	

If all the bracelets and collars now in my possession were complete, the actual value of the gold and silver would then exceed 2,500 Rs. But I have heard of a group of chariot and horses of 120£ intrinsic value which has lately been sold in England, and of a large silver horse and other relics, which would certainly raise the actual value of the ornaments and other relics to 5000 Rs. So that the whole treasure in relics and coins would have been worth 750£ at par.

Large finds of coins are not unknown in India. The following may be of interest to others besides coin collectors.

In 1842, near Coimbatore, 524 Roman gold coins were found, comprising 134 Augustus, 381 Tiberius, 3 Caligula, 5 Claudius. [Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, I, 294.]

In 1851, 12 miles from Benares, 160 gold coins of the Gupta kings were found including 71 specimens of Chandra Gupta. [Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, XXI, 390.]

In 1863 in Kúch Bihár, 13,500 old rupees of the Muhammadan kings of Bengal were dug up. [Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, N. S., II, 145.]

In 1871, in Agra, about 2000 heavy silver coins of Jahángír, 1¼ rupee each, were found in a heap of ruins outside the city.

In 1874, in Sonpat, about, 1200 hemidrachmas of the Greek kings of Kabul and the Panjáb were found in the bank of a tank. I have myself received upward of 900 of these coins, and have seen most of the others. They comprised specimens of eleven different kings; one half of the whole number belonging to Menander.

In 1875, at Pesháwar, about 1000 gold *dinárs* of the Indo-Scythian kings Wema Kadphises, Kanerki, Hoverki, and Bazo Deo were dug up in the city, out of which I have seen upwards of 600 specimens.

In 1878, at Sumerpur 12 miles from Hamirpur on the Jumna, 100 silver coins of the Greek kings of Kabul were discovered, comprising specimens of Eukratides, Antimachus, Apollodotus and Menander. Amongst them there were nine didrachmas of Menander.

A very interesting find was also made towards the end of the last century near Benares, as recorded in the following extract from "Nicholls' Recollections and Reflections", Vol. II, p. 203 [2 vols. 8vo. London, 1822]

"I was informed by the late Warren Hastings "that, while he was "Governor-General of Bengal, he sent as a present to the Directors of the "East India Company one hundred and seventy-two Darics. They had "been found buried in an earthen pot, on the bank of a river in the "province of Benares. Mr. Hastings told me that when he sent these "coins to the Court of Directors, he considered himself as making the "most munificent present to his masters that he might ever have in his "power to send them. Judge of his surprise when he found on his arrival "in England, that the Darics had been sent to the melting pot."

The same huckstering spirit clung to the Board of Directors until the last, when in a fit of economy they ordered all the gold and silver presents which they had received to be sold. Everything was sent to a silversmith to be valued, including the Græco-Bactrian silver plate with the procession of Bacchus which was presented to the East India Company by Dr. Lord. I have seen the valuation statement of the silversmith, and I was happy to find that this valuable Patera had been saved by Horace Hayman Wilson.

RELICS FROM SISTAN.

The bronze relics given in Plate XIX are also from Ancient Persia; but they come from *Sistán*, or Drangiana, and were collected by Capt. Hutton in the first Afghân campaign, from whom they came into my possession by purchase along with a small collection of coins.

These bronze objects are of two distinct kinds; ornaments and weapons. They are all given full size.

Fig. 1 is part of a bird including the head and wing and part of the back. As it is quite flat on the opposite side, I think it may have been part of an ornamental handle of a knife.

Figs. 2 and 3 seem to be portions of personal ornaments, as they have a strong resemblance to some of the gold bracelets given in Plate XVI.

Figs. 4 and 5 are female figures which I believe formed the handles of some unknown instruments.

Figs. 6 and 7 are flat-bladed arrow heads showing two different modes of attaching the head to the shaft.

Figs. 8, 9 and 10 are shouldered or barbed arrow heads.

Figs. 11 to 16 are three-edged arrow heads. They are all hollow, and each has a small hole on one side for fastening the head to the shaft by a cord. Similar arrow heads were found by Morier in the neighbourhood of Persepolis.*

Since this paper was written I have received the first number of Vol. I, of the 3rd Series of the Numismatic Chronicle, containing Mr. Percy Gardner's second notice of some "Coins from Central Asia," including the silver tetradrachma of Andragoras, of which I possess a duplicate. Mr. Gardner is inclined to think that the coins of king Lysimachus, of Tarsus, Sinope, Aspendus and Ephesus, were probably picked up by the collector on the road from the Oxus to India. This opinion is, however, directly opposed to the statements of the collectors themselves, as made to Mr. Grant in 1877-78, and as made to me yearly from 1878 up to the present time. In fact, I have received the impressions of many of these coins just as they were obtained on the Oxus, in letters from Khulm. So far as I have observed there are no western coins in the Oxus find of a later date than Alexander the Great, and as the soldiers of Alexander's army must have carried with them numerous coins from many different places in Greece, I would suggest this as a simple and reasonable explanation of their occurrence in this great deposit. The collectors separated without any hesitation all the coins obtained at other places. These comprised many specimens of Euthydemus, Eukratides and Heliokles, with one or two of Demetrius and a single coin of Agathokles. I have remarked that not a single Parthian coin has been found amongst the numbers that I have seen from the Oxus deposit.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above was put in type, I have received another small batch of coins from the Oxus. With these there were in addition 7 gold coins and 11 silver tetradrachmas, all of which were taken possession of by Abdul Rahman's Collector of Customs at Kabul. Amongst the gold coins there is said to have been one of Pharnaspes.

The following is a list of the coins that were brought to me, most of which have passed into my collection. Amongst them there are no coins of a later date than the time of Euthydemus and Antiochus the Great. The continued absence of any Parthian coins also points to a date preceding the reign of Mithridates I., whose coins are so common.

* See Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, III, 175, 2nd edit.

Silver Coins.

No.

- 2 Silver Darics (Sigli), very much worn.
 1 Attic Tetradrachma—oblong—archaic type.
 1 Philip of Macedon, large.
 1 Alexander, Drachma, much worn.
 1 Seleukus, Drachma, Elephant chariot.
 1 Seleukus and Antiochus, tetradrachma, Elephant chariot.
 1 Drachma—Elephant chariot—a beautifully perfect specimen, legend
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.
 2 Antiochus I.—Tetradrachma—Horse's head.
 2 Do. Drachmas do.
 1 Do. Drachma—King's head with helmet and cheek-pieces—
 Rev. Victory and Trophy.
 2 Do. Tetradrachmas—Seated Apollo.

Nickel.

- 1 Agathokles—usual type—ΦΙ in field.

Copper.

- 1 Antiochus I.—Helmeted head.
 2 Do. Bad coins.
 3 Diodotus—new type—Demeter in search of her daughter.
 3 Euthydemus—usual types—Gallopig Horse.
 1 Pantaleon, square, usual types.
 2 Agathokles, square, usual types.
 4 Indian coins, square, Lion and Elephant.

Among these there are a few novelties, such as the helmeted Antiochus in silver, and the copper coins of Diodotus. But the gem of this small batch is the beautiful drachma of the "kings Seleukus and Antiochus."

ROYAL STATUETTE.



SOLID SILVER
Full size, 5794 Grains,

ROYAL FIGURES

GOLD.

2

GOLD RING 271 GRS



1



84 Grains

4

SILVER PIECE



4 Daniks. = 2/3 Siglos.

3

GOLD.



DOUBLE DARIC

5



SILVER.

ARYANDIC

6

407 3/4 GRS



SILVER PIECES OF FIVE SIGLI OR QUARTER DARICS.

7



400 GRS



8

GOLD.

2 Wheels and 3 Horses lost. Chariot 368 Grains, 1 Horse 96 Grains.

STATUETTES.

THICK GOLD.
Full Size,
1063 Grains



SOLID
SILVER.
GOLD CAP.
Half Size,
28,281 Grs.



2



5



4



THICK GOLD.

Full Size, 673 Grains.

6



MAGUS WITH BARSOM WAND.



GOLD PLATE - 624 Grains.

ANIMALS,
ALL GOLD.

EAGLE
13 Grs

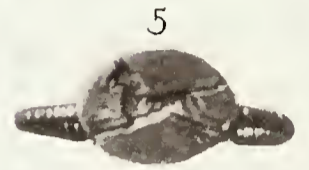


MAN & LION. 26 Grs



WINGED BULL, Full size, 134 Grs

PIGEON.
24 Grs



RING 60 Grs



STAG-385 Grs



SHEEP-924 Grs



FISH -Half size -5687 Grains.

ORNAMENTS
ALL GOLD.

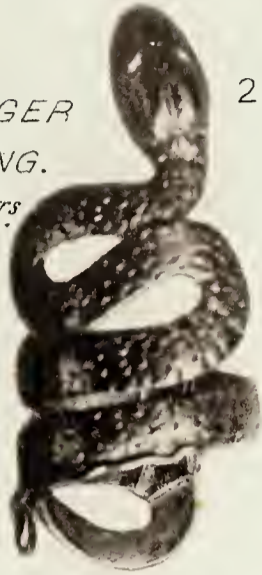
EAR-RING.



1

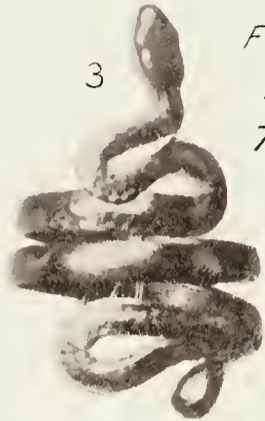
48 Grs

FINGER RING.
176 Grs



2

FINGER RING.
77 Grs

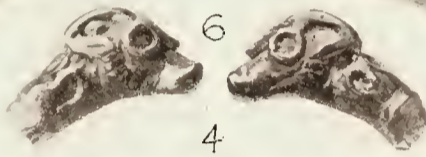


3

BRACELETS.



5

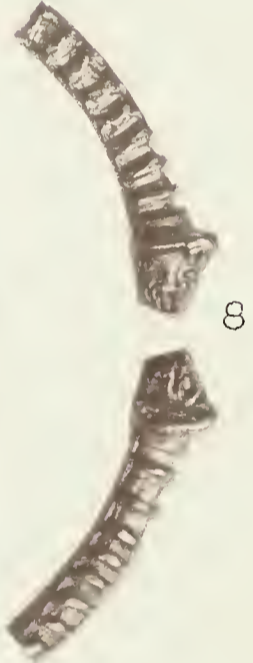


6

4



7



8

BELT CLASP.
486 Grs



Side.

9



Side.

10



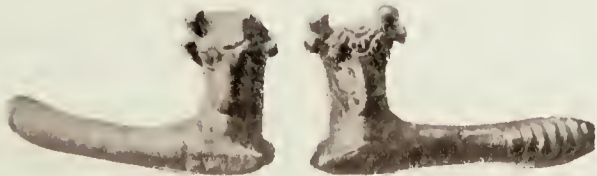
Top.

11

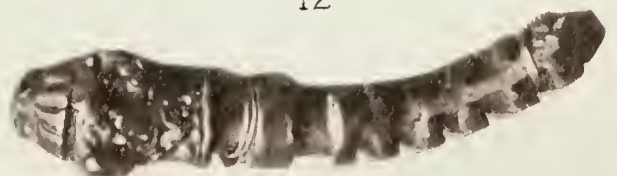


Top.

TORQUES.



12



PERSIAN COINS.

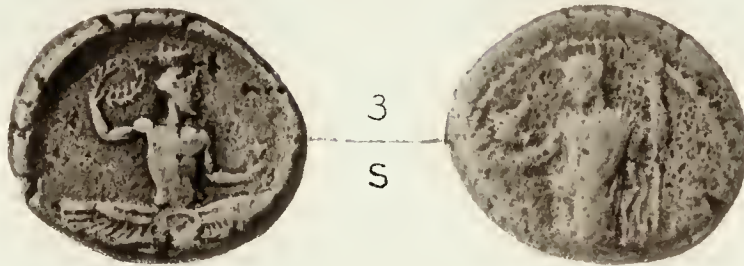
DOUBLE DARIC.



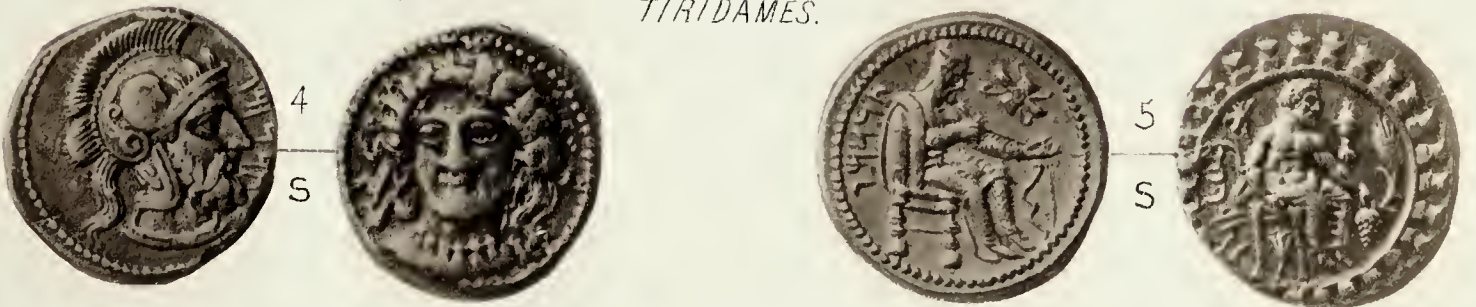
AYRANDIC.



TIRIBAZUS.



TIRIDAMES.



6

GOLD



RING.



GREEK COINS.



BRONZES.



RELICS FROM ANCIENT PERSIA.